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penry designed to represent Gothic stone effects; none of these things can become popular. We instinctively resent those works in paper or fresco designed to deceive us into believing that there are arches which are not arches, fair hanging draperies which are not draperies at all. So false are these things that we resent them, especially in churches.

The demand for veracity survives. There are still men who strive to live in consistent regard for the truth. They know full well that the habit of drawing distinctions between harmless and harmful, slight and great, unintentional and intentional deceptions is an irrational, a silly business. They know that veracity, like any virtue, comes only with the practice of it in the little things. They know that veracity is a valuable quality, because out of it spring those other essential things, such as chivalry, *noblesse oblige*, statesmanship. They know that the successful life is the life actively in pursuit of veracity. They know, as some one has said, that "gossip, flattery, slander, deceit, all spring from a slovenly mind that has not been trained in the power of truthful statement." They know that cynicism, ridicule, bitterness are unjustified because they are contrary to that eternal veracity which is the substance of successful homes, cities, States.

Men still know, and because of the war they know it more certainly, that secret treaties, fiat constitutions, governments by men only or by special privilege merely; that ill-considered political theories, unjust laws, and selfish ambitions must all give way at last. In their places must be substituted all needful publicity, the adaptation of tried methods of successful government,

the intelligent rule of an enlightened majority, scientific statesmanship devoted to the general welfare. Men instinctively demand these things in the name of freedom. In a sense, therefore, Mr. Ralston's "experimental applied honesty" is and always has been on the ways. On the whole and in the long run, men attain unto a greater and greater coherence because of a greater and greater enlightened self-interest, if for no other reason. When men argue that States are creatures of law, subordinate to the law; that they are interdependent, both as to their rights and as to their duties, they are pleading for an "experimental applied honesty." Men distrust their emotions and prejudices, for fear of dilettantism. Their instinctive leaning toward veracity leads them to demand brains with feelings, an "applied honesty." The more intelligent men become, the more they aim to buttress their principles upon knowledge. They applaud common sense in high places; and common sense means to them the substitution of organized facts and reason for the guess. When once upon a time a "doctor of the law, had in honor of all the people," stood up in the council and stated of the men in danger of their lives that "if this counsel or this work be of men, it will be overthrown: but if it is of God, ye will not be able to overthrow them; lest haply ye be found even to be fighting against God," of course, "to him they agreed," for Gamaliel trusted the case to veracity. Men will go on listening to their Gamaliels; and the Gamaliels will continue to arise, condemning hypocrisies and unrealities, making easier the way for the feet of that Justice whose fruitful and eternal spirit is veracity.

## U. S. SENATE AGAIN REJECTS TREATY

From July 10, 1919, the Treaty of Versailles and the Covenant of the League of Nations have been before the Senate. On November 19 the Senate rejected it by a vote of 41 to 51. On January 15 bipartisan conferences began which lasted two weeks and ended in disagreement on all except minor reservations. On February 9 the Senate reconsidered the vote by which ratification was rejected in November and the treaty was recommitted to the Foreign Relations Committee. A day later it was reported back to the Senate with reservations essentially the same as those originally urged by the Foreign Relations Committee, and on the 16th debate was resumed and has continued with practically no intermission.

On March 18, under pressure of public opinion too powerful to resist longer, the last of fifteen reservations agreed to in committee of the whole were reported to the Senate and were adopted; and a resolution calling for a vote on qualified ratification of the treaty as a whole was introduced by Senator Lodge and was adopted.

On the 19th, by a vote of 35 to 49, 56 votes being necessary for ratification, the Senate declined to ratify with the reservations; and later, by a vote of 47 to 37, passed the following resolution, introduced by Senator Lodge:

"That the Secretary of the Senate be instructed to return to the President the Treaty of Peace with Germany, signed at Versailles on the 28th day of June, 1919, and respectfully

inform the President that the Senate has failed to ratify said treaty, being unable to obtain the constitutional majority required therefor."

A formal letter from President Wilson, dated March 8, to Senator Hitchcock and other informal expressions of opinion by the Executive had made it clear to the Senators that he was still insistent on ratification of the treaty without reservations, such as the debate had made it clear a majority of the Senators would probably insist upon, and the Senate voted, knowing this fact as to the President's attitude. The requisite number of votes to defeat the treaty finally came from Democratic Senators loyal to the President, and from another group, mainly Republicans, and known colloquially as "irreconcilables" and "bitter enders," who, from the first, have opposed the treaty's ratification in any form, deeming it perilous to national interests and as setting up a "superstate."

The final alignment of men and parties on the issue follows:

### FOR RATIFICATION

REPUBLICANS: Ball, Calder, Capper, Colt, Curtis, Dillingham, Edge, Elkins, Frelinghuysen, Hale, Jones (Wash.), Kellogg, Kenyon, Keyes, Lenroot, Lodge, McLean, McNary, New, Page, Phipps, Smoot, Spencer, Sterling, Sutherland, Wadsworth, Warren, Watson. Total, 28.

DEMOCRATS: Ashurst, Beckham, Fletcher, Gore, Henderson, Kendrick, King, Myers, Nugent, Owen, Pittman, Phelan,

Chamberlain, Pomerene, Ransdell, Smith (Ga.), Smith (Md.), Trammell, Walsh (Mass.), Walsh (Mont.), Wolcott. Total, 21. Total for ratification, 49.

#### AGAINST RATIFICATION

**REPUBLICANS:** Borah, Brandegee, Fernald, France, Gronna, Johnson (Calif.), Knox, La Follette, McCormick, Moses, Norris, Sherman. Total, 12.

**DEMOCRATS:** Comer, Culberson, Dial, Gay, Glass, Harris, Harrison, Hitchcock, Johnson (S. Dak.), Kirby, McKellar, Smith (S. C.), Overman, Reed, Robinson, Sheppard, Shields, Simmons, Stanley, Swanson, Thomas, Underwood, Williams. Total, 23. Total against ratification, 35.

The resolution of qualified ratification of the treaty as it came before the Senate for final action was as follows:

"Resolved (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein), That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of the Treaty of Peace with Germany concluded at Versailles on the 28th day of June, 1919, subject to the following reservations and understandings, which are hereby made a part and condition of this resolution of ratification, which ratification is not to take effect or bind the United States until the said reservations and understandings adopted by the Senate have been accepted as a part and a condition of this resolution of ratification by the Allied and Associated Powers, and a failure on the part of the Allied and Associated Powers to make objection to said reservations and understandings prior to the deposit of ratification by the United States shall be taken as a full and final acceptance of such reservations and understandings by said Powers:

"(1) The United States so understands and construes Article I that in case of notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations, as provided in said article, the United States shall be the sole judge as to whether all its international obligations and all its obligations under the said covenant have been fulfilled, and notice of withdrawal by the United States may be given by a concurrent resolution of the Congress of the United States.

#### ARTICLE X RESERVATION

"(2) The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country by the employment of its military or naval forces, its resources, or any form of economic discrimination, or to interfere in any way in controversies between nations, including all controversies relating to territorial integrity or political independence, whether members of the League or not, under the provisions of Article X, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States, under any article of the treaty for any purpose, unless in any particular case the Congress, which, under the Constitution, has the sole power to declare war or authorize the employment of the military or naval forces of the United States, shall, in the exercise of full liberty of action, by act or joint resolution so provide.

"(3) No mandate shall be accepted by the United States under Article 22, Part I, or any other provision of the Treaty of Peace with Germany, except by action of the Congress of the United States.

"(4) The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction and declares that all domestic and political questions relating wholly or in part to its internal affairs, including immigration, labor, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce, the suppression of traffic in women and children and in opium and other dangerous drugs, and all other domestic questions, are solely within the jurisdiction of the United States and are not under this treaty to be submitted in any way either to arbitration or the consideration of the Council or of the Assembly of the League of Nations, or any agency thereof, or to the decision or recommendation of any other Power.

#### DECLARES MONROE DOCTRINE UNAFFECTED

"(5) The United States will not submit to arbitration or to inquiry by the Assembly or by the Council of the League

of Nations, provided for in said Treaty of Peace, any questions which in the judgment of the United States depend upon or relate to its long-established policy, commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine; said Doctrine is to be interpreted by the United States alone, and is hereby declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of said League of Nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in the said Treaty of Peace with Germany.

"(6) The United States withholds its assent to Articles 156, 157, and 158, and reserves full liberty of action with respect to any controversy which may arise under said articles.

"(7) No person is or shall be authorized to represent the United States, nor shall any citizen of the United States be eligible, as a member of any body or agency established or authorized by said Treaty of Peace with Germany, except pursuant to an act of the Congress of the United States providing for his appointment and defining his powers and duties.

"(8) The United States understands that the reparation commission will regulate or interfere with reports from the United States to Germany, or from Germany to the United States, only when the United States by act or joint resolution of Congress approves such regulation or interference.

"(9) The United States shall not be obligated to contribute to any expenses of the League of Nations, or of the secretariat, or of any commission, or committee, or conference, or other agency, organized under the League of Nations or under the treaty or for the purpose of carrying out the treaty provisions, unless and until an appropriation of funds available for such expenses shall have been made by the Congress of the United States: Provided that the foregoing limitation shall not apply to the United States' proportionate share of the expense of the office force and salary of the secretary general.

"(10) No plan for the limitation of armaments proposed by the Council of the League of Nations under the provisions of Article VIII shall be held as binding the United States until the same shall have been accepted by Congress, and the United States reserves the right to increase its armament without the consent of the Council whenever the United States is threatened with invasion or engaged in war.

"(11) The United States reserves the right to permit, in its discretion, the nationals of a Covenant-breaking State, as defined in Article XVI of the Covenant of the League of Nations, residing within the United States or in countries other than such Covenant-breaking State to continue their commercial, financial, and personal relations with the nationals of the United States.

#### RIGHTS OF CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES

"(12) Nothing in Articles 296, 297, or in any of the annexes thereto or in any other article, section, or annex of the Treaty of Peace with Germany shall, as against citizens of the United States, be taken to mean any confirmation, ratification, or approval of any act otherwise illegal or in contravention of the rights of citizens of the United States.

"(13) The United States withholds its assent to Part XIII (Articles 387 to 427, inclusive) unless Congress by act or joint resolution shall hereafter make provision for representation in the organization established by said Part XIII, and in such event the participation of the United States will be governed and conditioned by the provisions of such act or joint resolution.

"(14) Until Part I, being the Covenant of the League of Nations, shall be so amended as to provide that the United States shall be entitled to cast a number of votes equal to that which any member of the League and its self-governing dominions, colonies, or parts of empire, in the aggregate shall be entitled to cast, the United States assumes no obligation to be bound, except in cases where Congress has previously given its consent, by any election, decision, report, or finding of the Council or Assembly in which any member of the League and its self-governing dominions, colonies, parts of empire, in the aggregate have cast more than one vote.

"The United States assumes no obligation to be bound by any decision, report, or finding of the Council or Assembly arising out of any dispute between the United States and

any member of the League if such member or any self-governing dominion, colony, empire, or part of empire, united with it politically has voted.

"(15) In consenting to the ratification of the treaty with Germany the United States adheres to the principle of self-determination and to the resolution of sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of their own choice adopted by the Senate June 6, 1919, and declares that when such government is attained by Ireland, a consummation it is hoped is at hand, it should promptly be admitted as a member of the League of Nations."

## AN AGRARIAN-JUNKER FLARE-UP FAILS —"THE RED TERROR" APPEARS

On March 13, with no bloodshed, control of the government of Germany in the national capital passed from the Ebert Ministry to one which had back of it the Junker and military parties. The armed forces that brought this result to pass were commanded by General Baron von Luettwitz, who as soon as the new government was proclaimed was made commander-in-chief of the army by Chancellor Wolfgang Kapp.

The text of the proclamation issued on the 13th by Chancellor and Premier Kapp was as follows:

"The overthrow of the (Ebert) government must not be taken as a reactionary step imposed upon the country. It is a progressive measure of patriotic Germans of all parties with a view to re-establishing law, order, discipline, and honest government in Germany.

"It is an overdue attempt to lay the foundations for the economic resuscitation of Germany, enabling her to fulfill those conditions of the Peace Treaty of Versailles which are reasonable and not self-destructive.

"Inspired by a zeal and desire for the benefit of the whole German people, they (the organizers of the revolution) have invited and heartily accept the co-operation of the Independents for the creation and elaboration of laws for the benefit of the working classes.

"Neither Germany nor Europe can continue to exist under present conditions. The government now happily suppressed overburdened our people with taxation grievous to bear, while it utterly failed to create conditions conducive to increased conditions.

"Under the cloak of deceitful catch-words and popular phrases, they (the members of the Ebert Cabinet) constituted in deed and in truth a reactionary government. They proclaimed the freedom of the press, but all the time they suppressed the papers which dared to criticise them.

"They proclaimed the freedom of the individual, but they continually arrested people for political opinions.

"They loudly proclaimed that the republic is and must be a rule by the people, yet they refused, in flagrant violation of our constitution, to dissolve the national assembly and appeal to the electorate.

"Last but not least, a government whose chief spokesman is a man like Erzberger must be swept aside. Our people are groaning under intolerable conditions.

"The high cost of living and the difficulty of obtaining sufficient food have created dishonest trading and reprehensible practices to an extent not fully appreciated in foreign countries.

"We are on the brink of economic and moral collapse.

"If the world is really convinced of the necessity of rebuilding economic Germany—and that such is the case we have been fully assured during the past week or two—then they (the other nations) will welcome the substitution of an honest government for a dishonest one.

"But be this as it may, the change of government is a purely internal and purely German question, which concerns only the German people.

"At the same time we readily recognize that foreign countries have a vital interest in not having a government in Germany which would or might in any way endanger the peace of Europe.

"The present government is bent upon preserving both internal and external peace, and to prevent a recurrence of the mistakes of the past or a return to the methods of the government now happily defunct and obsolete.

"(Signed) **WOLFGANG KAPP,**  
*"Imperial Chancellor and Premier of Prussia."*

It is important to note that this proclamation came from an official of Prussia, still endeavoring to speak authoritatively, as of yore, for Germany, whereas as a matter of fact conditions prior to this counter-revolution had revealed a distinct unwillingness of many of the States of the former empire to submit longer to Prussia domination, and this proclamation from the first was relatively ineffective in south Germany.

When President Ebert withdrew from Berlin on the 13th, taking with him most of his cabinet and especially his Minister of Defense, Herr Noske, he first went to Dresden and later to Stuttgart. From the former city, in behalf of the Socialist Republic, he issued the following proclamation, calling for a general strike:

"**WORKMEN, COMRADES:** The military revolt has come. Erhardt's naval division is marching on Berlin to enforce the reorganization of the imperial government. The mercenary troops, who were afraid of the disbandment which had been ordered, desire to put the reactionaries into the ministerial posts.

"We refuse to bow to this military constraint. We did not make the revolution in order to recognize again today the bloody government of mercenaries. We enter into no covenant with the Baltic criminals. Workmen, comrades, we should be ashamed to look you in the face if we were capable of acting otherwise.

"We say, 'No!' And again, 'No!' You must indorse what we have done. We carried out your views. Now use every means to destroy this return of bloody reaction.

"**Strike. Cease to work. Throttle this military dictatorship. Fight with all your means for the preservation of the republic. Put aside all division. There is only one means against the return of Wilhelm II. Paralyze all economic life. Not a hand must move. No proletariat shall help the military dictatorship.**

"Let there be a general strike along the entire line. Let the proletariat act as a unit."

The manifesto was signed by President Ebert, Premier Bauer, Gustav Noske, the Minister of Defense; Herr Schlike, the Minister of Labor; Dr. Schmidt, the Minister of Food; Dr. Eduard David, minister without portfolio, and Dr. Herman Mueller, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Social Democratic members of the government, and by Otto Wels for the Executive Committee of the German Social Democratic Party.

On the 14th Chancellor Kapp issued a statement promising to order an election of a new Reichstag as soon as order was restored, and adding that emergency decrees would only be issued to protect the economic life of the country against usurious exploitation and corruption. He promised that the trial of the prisoners at Leipsic would proceed and that the censorship would be relaxed.

This transformation of the German situation, presaging a possible return of the monarchy and at best a civil war in Germany, at once forced Marshal Foch and the Allies to a conference, held in Paris on the 15th, after which he traveled Rhineward, toward the troops which might be used to invade Germany were the decision so to do once made. M. Millerand, the French premier, improved the opportunity to reiterate that France now more than ever expected the full terms of the Versailles Treaty to be kept, and would the more steadfastly resist any attempt of her Allies to modify